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DRAFTED BY: AF/E:DHSHINN:DHS APPROVED BY: AF::GEMOOSE

AF/E: ARENDER

EUR/RPE:MWILLS (SUB)

USEU: SEIZENSTAT

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TO USEU BRUSSELS PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY LUANDA

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AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY ASMARA

AMEMBASSY KIGALI

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DATE/CASE ID: 23 JAN 2001

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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY BANJUL
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
USCINCEUR

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LONDON-YOUNG; PARIS-MORAN; NAIROBI ALSO FOR SIMPSON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, EAID, ECIN, AFDB, OATU, XA, US, EUN SUBJECT: U.S./E.U. AFRICA TALKS: MEETING WITH COMMISSIONER PINHEIRO

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

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2. EU COMMISSIONER PINHEIRO, WHO WILL BECOME RESPONSIBLE FOR AFRICAN MATTERS IN JANUARY, WAS FORTHCOMING AND POSITIVE IN DECEMBER 1 MEETING WITH AF A/S MOOSE AND AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT ON A RANGE OF AFRICAN ISSUES. HE EXPRESSED PARTICULAR INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND SEES SOUTH AFRICA AS AN "INVESTMENT" FOR THE REST OF THE REGION. THE EU IS CONFRONTED NOW, HOWEVER, WITH NEGOTIATING THE APPROPRIATE LINK BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE LOME CONVENTION, WHICH HE SAID WOULD RESULT IN A SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT BUT NOT FULL MEMBERSHIP. MOOSE UNDERSCORED US INTEREST IN MOVING FORWARD, IN COOPERATION WITH THE EU, OF THE PRESIDENT'S GREATER HORN OF AFRICA INITIATIVE. PINHEIRO SAID THE CONCEPT "SHOULD BE CHERISHED; IT IS A BREAKTHROUGH." MOOSE EXPRESSED DEEP US

CONCERNS OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK; PINHEIRO SAID HE NEEDED TO STUDY THE MATTER FURTHER. THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON THE GENERAL OUTLINE OF AN APPROACH TOWARDS RWANDA AND CONCURRENCE THAT POLICY TOWARDS ZAIRE NEEDS URGENT ATTENTION. PINHEIRO WAS ALSO

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ALARMED BY THE SITUATION IN NIGERIA BUT DESCRIBED ANY SOLUTION AS "MOST DIFFICULT." IN RESPONSE TO A/S MOOSE'S URGING TO PUT ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON THE RECALCITRANT GOVERNMENT IN KHARTOUM, PINHEIRO SAID HE HAS NOT BEEN FOLLOWING SUDAN, BUT SUGGESTED THAT MAYBE THE TIME HAS COME TO DO MORE. END SUMMARY.

INTRODUCTION

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3. EU COMMISSIONER JOAO DE DEUS PINHEIRO RECEIVED AF A/S SECRETARY GEORGE MOOSE, AMBASSADOR STUART EIZENSTAT, AF/E DIRECTOR DAVID SHINN AND AF/C DIRECTOR ARLENE RENDER AT HIS OFFICE IN THE EU HEADQUARTERS ON DECEMBER 1. PINHEIRO, A FORMER PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTER, NOTED THAT HE WILL ASSUME ON JANUARY 27 RESPONSIBILITY FOR AFRICAN ISSUES. HE UNDERSCORED THE IMPORTANCE OF EU DIALOGUE WITH THE U.S. ON AFRICA AND OTHER ISSUES, CITING AS AN EXAMPLE EU PARTICIPATION IN THE FRIENDS OF RWANDA GROUP WHICH MET THE PREVIOUS WEEK IN WASHINGTON. PINHEIRO SAID OUR ABILITY TO WORK TOGETHER IS IMPORTANT, ADDING HE PERSONALLY HAS EXPERTISE ON A NUMBER OF AFRICAN ISSUES.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

4. PINHEIRO COMMENTED THAT IF THE SITUATION DEVELOPS FAVORABLY IN MOZAMBIQUE, IT WILL GIVE ADDED HOPE TO THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION. NOTING THAT HE KNOWS THE REGION WELL, HE URGED THAT WE LOOK AT WHAT WE CAN DO TOGETHER THERE AS STABILIZATION OF THE REGION IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE ENTIRE CONTINENT. SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL BE ONE OF PINHEIRO'S MAJOR CONCERNS ONCE HE ASSUMES EU RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE AREA. HE WAS PARTICULARLY PLEASED WITH DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS HAVING A "PRAGMATIC" GOVERNMENT AND CREATING A "GOOD CLIMATE AND POTENTIAL MOMENTUM FOR THE REGION." SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE SEEN AS AN "INVESTMENT, HE SAID. CONFIDENTIAL

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5. AT THE SAME TIME, THE EU WANTS TO AVOID SURPRISES IN THE REGION. FOR EXAMPLE, THE STATUS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S

REQUEST TO JOIN THE LOME CONVENTION IS NOW UNDER DISCUSSION. THE EU ENVISAGES A SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT WITH SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH IS NOT AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY. THIS WOULD NOT CONSTITUTE FULL MEMBERSHIP BUT SOMETHING APPROACHING "LOME MINUS."

6. A/S MOOSE EXPLAINED THAT WE ARE SEEKING BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IN THE U.S. ON ANGOLA. SUCCESS IN BOTH MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA WOULD CONSTITUTE A STRONG BUILDING BLOC IN THE REGION. WE SEE GROWING PRIVATE SECTOR INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND ARE LOOKING AT POSSIBLE INCENTIVES THAT CAN BE OFFERED TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR. IN SOUTH AFRICA PARTICULARLY, WE ARE FOCUSING ON THOSE ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY THAT LEND THEMSELVES TO PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT.

GREATER HORN OF AFRICA INITIATIVE (GHAI)

- 7. PINHEIRO INTRODUCED THE SUBJECT BY STATING THAT THE EU WELCOMES COOPERATION ON THE INITIATIVE. HE ADDED THAT THE EU STAFF IS ENCOURAGED BY THE EFFORT; "IT SHOWS A LOT OF PROMISE."
- 8. A/S MOOSE WELCOMED PINHEIRO'S REMARKS ON THE GHAI, ADDING THAT IT OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO GET BEYOND REGULAR CONFIDENTIAL

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CRISES IN THE REGION CAUSED BY MANMADE CIVIL STRIFE AND
PERIODIC DROUGHT. SO FAR, THE LEADERS OF ETHIOPIA,
ERITREA AND TANZANIA HAVE EXPRESSED KEEN INTEREST IN THE
PROPOSAL; FORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS IN THE
REGION WILL BEGIN SOON. THE CONCEPT PAPER, WHICH HAS BEEN
DISCUSSED BY USAID STAFF WITH THE EU, IS ONLY A FIRST
CUT. IT IS INTENDED TO PROVOKE DISCUSSION, BUT WE ARE
SEEKING A COMMITMENT FROM THE EU TO THE NOTION THAT A
REGIONAL APPROACH IS VIABLE. WE APPRECIATE THAT IT NEEDS
ADDITIONAL SERIOUS DISCUSSION WITH THE EU. AMBASSADOR
EIZENSTAT ADDED THAT WE WELCOME EU COMMENTS ON THE CONCEPT
PAPER.

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- 10. PINHEIRO RESPONDED THAT THE TREND OF THE EU'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE GHAI IS GOOD. IN THE BEGINNING, WE THOUGHT IT WAS TOO BIG. THE DIFFERENT CULTURES OF THE EU AND USAID INEVITABLY LED TO "OPERATIONAL DIFFICULTIES." BUT OUR VIEW IS CHANGING; THE FOCUS ON FOOD SECURITY IS PROPER. THE GHAI CONCEPT "SHOULD BE CHERISHED; IT IS A BREAKTHROUGH," HE SAID.
- A/S MOOSE COMMENTED THAT THE SUCCESSFUL REGIONAL 11. APPROACH TO DEALING WITH SOUTHERN AFRICAN DROUGHT TWO YEARS AGO SUGGESTS THAT THE REGIONAL APPROACH CAN WORK IN THE GREATER HORN. IN ADDITION, HE THOUGHT THE AMERICAN CONGRESS WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO A REGIONAL PROPOSAL WHICH TRIES TO DEAL WITH THE ROOT CAUSES OF A PERMANENT PROBLEM AND, AT THE SAME TIME, REDUCE LONG TERM COSTS OF THE DONOR COMMUNITY THROUGH PERMANENT SOLUTIONS RATHER THAN ANNUAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMERGENCY AID. SHINN ADDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA MAY OFFER ANOTHER USEFUL LESSON FOR DEALING WITH CONFLICT MITIGATION IN THE GREATER HORN. WE ARE NOW ORGANIZING A SYMPOSIUM IN WASHINGTON TO DISCUSS THE COMMUNITY BASED CONFLICT MITIGATION EFFORTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE WITH THE GOAL OF ADAPTING THEM TO OTHER PARTS OF THE CONTINENT.

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AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (ADB)

12. A/S SECRETARY MOOSE SAID THE U.S. IS CONCERNED ABOUT CONFIDENTIAL

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PROBLEMS AT THE BANK. REFORM HAS BEEN FRUSTRATED AND WE
EVEN SEE A TREND TOWARD RUINOUS POLICIES. WE BELIEVE IT
IS TIME TO URGE THE AFRICANS AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL TO
REFORM THE ADB. IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE TO SOLVE THE
PROBLEM BY DEALING WITH THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS, MOST OF
WHOM HAVE BEEN IN PLACE TOO LONG AND SEEM TO OPERATE
INDEPENDENTLY OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO
AVOID A FAILURE OF THE ADB, WHICH WOULD BE DEVASTATING FOR

THE CONTINENT. PINHEIRO SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO STUDY THE ISSUE AND MEET AGAIN.

RWANDA AND ZAIRE

- 13. PINHEIRO COMMENTED THAT THE EU FOCUS IN RWANDA HAS BEEN ON EMERGENCY AID. EU COOPERATION INTERNALLY HAS NOT BEEN IDEAL. HAD ZAIRE BEEN STABLE, IT COULD HAVE PREVENTED THE TERRIBLE SITUATION IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS. PINHEIRO ASKED RHETORICALLY WHAT CAN WE JOINTLY DO ABOUT ZAIRE. HE SUGGESTED WE NEED TO ASSESS THE SITUATION THERE AND THEN DEVELOP A BROAD FRAMEWORK FOR AVERTING DISASTER. "WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVE SCENARIOS? HOW CAN WE PERSUADE MOBUTU TO TAKE ANOTHER COURSE OF ACTION?" HE ASKED. ZAIRE NEEDS URGENT ATTENTION AND COORDINATED ACTIONS.
- 14. A/S MOOSE DESCRIBED THE RWANDA SUPPORT GROUP MEETING IN WASHINGTON THE PREVIOUS WEEK AS HELPFUL AND EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR EU PARTICIPATION. HE URGED THE INTERNATIONAL DONOR COMMUNITY TO RESPOND MORE FULLY TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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NEEDS OF THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT. HE ADDED THAT THE CURRENT
EFFORTS OF ZAIRE'S PRIME MINISTER KENGO OFFER AN

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OPPORTUNITY FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THE REGION. BUT THE SITUATION REMAINS DIFFICULT AS SOME OF HIS EFFORTS ARE IN CONFLICT WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S. IT IS IMPORTANT TO OFFER TANGIBLE SUPPORT FOR KENGO THROUGH NGO'S AND BY PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND BY PUTTING POLITICAL PRESSURE ON ALL PARTIES TO PLAY FAIRLY. A/S MOOSE WONDERED IF THE TIME HAS COME TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF INTERLOCUTORS, CITING THE POSSIBLE ENGAGEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT MANDELA. HE EMPHASIZED THAT STABILITY IN ZAIRE WILL IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN RWANDA.

GAMBIA AND NIGERIA

- 15. A/S MOOSE URGED A UNIFIED FRONT TO PUT PRESSURE ON SEVERAL "RECALCITRANT" AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS. HE CITED GAMBIA AND NIGERIA IN PARTICULAR. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT NIGERIA WILL NOT ALLOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO IMPOSE ITS WILL, HE ARGUED FOR A NUANCED BUT COMMON FRONT VIS-A-VIS THE NIGERIANS. A POSSIBLE AREA OF COOPERATION WITH NIGERIA, FOR EXAMPLE, IS NARCOTICS INTERDICTION.
- 16. PINHEIRO SAID THE NIGERIAN REGIME SEEMS TO "TIGHTEN"

MORE EACH DAY. OUR APPROACH MUST BE "CAREFUL."

INCREASINGLY, THE EU IS TYING ASSISTANCE TO DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNMENT. CORRUPTION AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARE NOW IMPORTANT CONCERNS FOR THE EU. WE HOPE TO PUT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 10 STATE 327467 090116Z EVEN MORE EMPHASIS ON THESE FACTORS. BUT NIGERIA WILL REMAIN A "MOST DIFFICULT" CASE.

SUDAN

17. SUDAN IS ANOTHER RECALCITRANT GOVERNMENT, SAID A/S MOOSE. IN ALMOST EVERY RESPECT--HUMAN RIGHTS, SUPPORT FOR TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS AND THE CONTINUING CIVIL WAR--SUDAN HAS GONE BACKWARDS IN RECENT MONTHS. THERE IS GROWING DISILLUSIONMENT BY SUDAN'S NEIGHBORS WITH DEVELOPMENTS THERE AND LACK OF PROGRESS ON ENDING THE WAR IN THE SOUTH. EVEN KENYA IS BECOMING DISCOURAGED. SUDAN IS ANOTHER COUNTRY WHERE A COMMON FRONT WOULD BE HELPFUL.

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| 18. | PIN | HEIRO | REPL | IED | THAT | HE | DOES | NOT | KNOW | THE | SITUATI | ON |
|-----|-------|-------|------|-----|------|----|------|-----|------|-----|---------|----|
| IN | SUDAN | WELL | BUT | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
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COMMENT

19. THE MEETING WITH PINHEIRO WAS CORDIAL AND US INTERACTION WITH HIM IN THE FUTURE ON AFRICAN ISSUES SHOULD BE EXCELLENT AS HE TAKES UP HIS NEW CONFIDENTIAL

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RESPONSIBILITIES. HE HAS A SPECIAL INTEREST IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA BUT IS WILLING TO BE ENGAGED ON ISSUES ACROSS THE
CONTINENT. HE WAS SURPRISINGLY MORE POSITIVE ON THE GHAI
THAN WAS THE CASE RECENTLY WITH CERTAIN SENIOR AND
MID-LEVEL STAFF OF THE EU. WE NEED TO CULTIVATE THIS
SUPPORT. PINHEIRO UNDERSTANDS THE URGENCY OF DEALING WITH
THE SITUATION IN ZAIRE AND NIGERIA, BUT IS FRUSTRATED BY
THE LACK OF GOOD OPTIONS. SUDAN DOES NOT LOOM LARGE ON
HIS AGENDA. AMBASSADOR EIZENSTAT, OF THE END OF THE
MEETING, RAISED CONCERNS WITH THE PINHEIRO DRAFT REVISIONS
TO THE EU BROADCAST DIRECTIVE (USEU BRUSSELS 13260).

20. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. TALBOTT

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